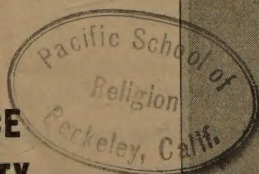


SOCIAL ACTION

**Gains for
Middle Groups
through
Social
Reconstruction**

•
**PEACE
PLENTY
DEMOCRACY**



May 1 • 10 Cents

SOCIAL ACTION

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The Pilgrim Press, Boston and Chicago

Social Action and Business

• by Hubert C. Herring

LETTER TO CHURCH MEN WHO ARE ALSO BUSINESS MEN:

There are abundant signs that some of you are worried by the signs of social ferment within the churches. You see, and correctly, that most of the younger ministers, many of the older ministers, many laymen, hosts of young people, believe that the time has come for the church to strike out at the social scourges of our time—war, racial discrimination, poverty, insecurity, exploitation of man by man.

THE BUSINESS MAN RAISES A QUESTION

There are as many minds among business men as there are among any other group of people. We cannot generalize, therefore, about "business men."

There is of course a sizable group whose voices are unrestrained in their attacks upon all who question the present economic order, and who denounce with strident fury all who dare to talk of a different kind of human society. This group at the moment very vocal in their attacks upon liberal clergymen and laymen within the churches. Their vigor is imperative, their logic less so. But I do not have them in mind.

I have in mind the larger group of business men, many of whom are the leaders in our American churches, who are honestly troubled by the church's excursions into the social field. They say that the church should stick to its task of preaching the Gospel of salvation, that it should leave social and economic matters to the business community.

I cannot speak for the tens of thousands within our American churches who are fired by zeal for the social Gospel. But I would like to tell you how and why this zeal developed.

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

First of all, that zeal is rooted in the teaching of Jesus on the Kingdom of God. There is the real dynamite. Let us re-read

the Gospels. Does not everything which Jesus says and does fall into place and find meaning as it is related to his teaching of the Kingdom?

The Kingdom is a society in which brotherhood prevails. Its implications are personal and social. The citizen of the Kingdom must be a good citizen, but the goodness of his citizenship is tested by the way he acts towards other people. That is stiff doctrine—nothing more radical has ever been said.

It was stiff doctrine in the older days, when men lived in tribal units, and when everyone knew everyone else. Even then, there were men who tipped the scales by stealth, who took advantage of the weakness of orphans and of the need of the widow. It is an infinitely stiffer doctrine today, when human relations have been so completely depersonalized. In the older days, a pair of shoes spelled human relations with the maker of them; today, all we know is the price and size. The clothes we wear, the food we eat no longer represent personal relations. The coal we burn, the automobile we drive—we know its price, we do not know its human story.

To think in terms of a brotherly community in the face of modern complexities requires the imagination of a philosopher, a poet and an economist. It is a hard doctrine, but it is inherent in the Gospel of the Kingdom.

THE HUMAN COST OF INDUSTRIALISM

Secondly, we must re-read the parable of the seed and the soil. This is a tragically modern document.

It speaks of *good* and *hard* soil. Modern society knows a lot about the hard soil where seed does not catch hold and grow. Modern industrialism has been pounding down the soil for a hundred years, with the result that in the United States of America there are many millions who live on the ragged edge of misery. The human cost of shirts and hair ribbons, of automobiles and steel rails, of coal and gasoline and carpet tacks must be reckoned as a part of the American picture. It is idle to talk of preaching the gospel to men whose

families are starving. Fully fifty millions of the people of the United States serve to illustrate the story. Churchmen are today saying that an America in which so vast misery persists demands a new kind of Christian churchmanship.

THE CHURCH AND THE NEW SOCIETY

The Church, in proclaiming the need for a new society, indulges in no innovation. That theme, feared by many as revolutionary and disturbing, is as old as the prophets of Israel and the Gospel of Christ.

I submit seven propositions to you.

First, *radical social change is inevitable*. Small business is being crushed by monopoly. The rank and file of business men know the cost of this crushing process. Unemployment is not ended, nor do the economists hold out hope that it will be ended, even though good times come again. The purchasing power of the great majority of the people is not being lifted. The disparity between wealth and poverty increases. The stage is set for fundamental social changes.

Second, *the changes in the social order may be destructive of all that we cherish as Americans*. There is nothing automatic about progress. We have seen what despair can do with a great people in Italy, Germany and Russia. We covet for America neither the regimentation of communism nor of fascism. Either could come to America by exactly the same routes as they came to Europe—poverty, despair, revolt.

Third, *the alternative to communism and fascism is the fulfillment of the American dream of democracy*. We can accomplish this only by an unyielding insistence upon the civil rights of all groups. Only a determined and positive fight to preserve democracy will prove fruitful.

Fourth, *the realization of the American dream must command the loyal and devoted energy of the technicians*—business economists, scientists and engineers. If these do not contribute their special skills, the task goes by default to the charlatans and the demagogues.

Fifth, *churchmen as such will not draft the blue prints of a new society*, but churchmen will play a part by advertising those eternal truths of human justice and right which belong to the Christian tradition. The Church cannot too loudly and insistently demand that the sacredness of human life be recognized. If churchmen persuade enough people that war is evil the statesmen will finally listen. If churchmen persuade the nation that poverty is intolerable, the economists and the engineers will find the cure for poverty. In all of this, the church must be explicit and direct. It must lead the way by calling sin by its right name, whether the sin be personal or social.

Sixth, *it is time to quit calling names*. The bandying of such words as "socialism" and "communism" proves nothing. The churchmen who are working for the recognition of human justice cannot be dismissed as "dangerous radicals." I would suggest that the same thing applies to those who would blame all our ills on the capitalistic system. It is all too simple, this disposing of issues by name-calling.

Seventh, *it is time to be of good heart and to take courage of our hopes*. What does it matter if the grocery business of the future is to be handled on different lines, or the doctoring, or the manufacture of steel and hair pins? There is nothing sacred, fixed or immovable about our present ways of doing business. The one important thing is that human life shall be given new greatness through the social forms which we devise. It is time, then, that we give up fighting against changes which appear destructive, and learn to fight for those changes in our society which will make the American dream come true.

These are simply a few propositions along the way. They are rooted in a profound faith in America, in its distinctive genius and promise, in the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is a soundly American and a soundly Christian hope. Furthermore, it is an eminently sound business doctrine. Good business is that business which serves American life.

Why All This Talk About Peace?

• by Alfred Schmalz

Why do men wage war? Not, we may be sure, because bayonets and blood constitute a desirable way of life. To most people war is the ultimate in horror and pain. Nevertheless men fight. Why? Not because they enjoy warfare, but because they believe in war as a successful method for achieving other things in which they are profoundly interested. In the World War, it will be recalled, Americans expected to achieve democracy and liberty, to free enslaved peoples, and to save civilization from disaster.

WHY WE WANT PEACE

It is important to bear this in mind, for it suggests an approach to the problem of establishing peace which may well be more largely emphasized. Why, after all, do we want peace? Is it simply that we hate war? Certainly not. No powerful peace movement will ever be built simply upon sentiment.

We want peace because it alone makes possible the achievement of such basic interests as economic security, democracy, and the abundant life of Christian teaching.

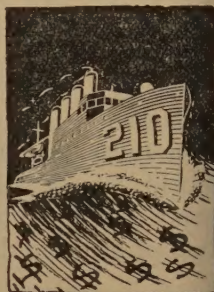
First, economic security.

We do not contend that war is alone to blame for our present economic chaos. This depression, although aggravated by the World War, is characteristic of the workings of our economic order, an order which should undergo drastic change if prosperity for all is to be achieved. Nevertheless, the suffering which the world is now undergoing is also a characteristic by-product of war.

Every major war has been followed by economic collapse. It should be obvious, therefore, that peace must be established

The Cost of War to the U. S. A.

Equalled \$55,000,000,000 or as much as is spent for all of the following services:



Each symbol equals \$2,000,000,000. Source: Foreign Policy Association

in the interest of a solution of the economic problem. It is one indispensable way of promoting economic improvement.

THE MONEY COST OF WAR

The World War, according to figures quoted by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, cost the nations \$400,000,000,000. This was money spent on prosecuting a war, and which might, therefore, have been available for other things. People will realize what a frightful waste of resources war is when they discover that with so large a sum of money

Every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia could have been given

*A \$2,500 House with
\$1,000 Worth of Furniture, on
5 Acres of Land, at \$100 an acre.*

Besides this, every city of over 20,000 inhabitants in these countries could have been given

*A \$5,000,000 Library and
A \$10,000,000 University.*

Out of the balance a sum could be set aside which, invested at 5 per cent interest, would pay for all time

*\$1,000 Salary yearly to 125,000 teachers, and
\$1,000 Salary yearly to 125,000 nurses.*

There would still be enough money left to buy up all the property of France and Belgium as they stood before the war.

War wrecks the hopes of men for economic security, both because it wastes resources on a colossal scale and because it destroys the delicate economic relationships of our interdependent life. Men want decent standards of living. Since they want that, they had better want peace too.

Secondly, democracy.

The World War was fought in the interest of preserving democracy. At least that was the propaganda. If the war had

sordid economic origins in imperialism and profit, it is true nevertheless that our participation in it was secured by convincing Americans that their ideals of democracy were at stake. As it turned out, war was and remains the greatest enemy of democracy.

WAR DESTROYS DEMOCRACY

The World War brought about the downfall of many monarchies, but in their place were born not democracy but communism and fascism. Instead of freedom, there is dictatorship, regimentation, censorship, espionage. All round the world there is a loss of confidence in the individual, accompanied by the exaltation of the state. And even in countries that have remained democratic, the distrust of democracy is so great that its fate is in the balance.

War may produce communism, as in Russia—provided the radical forces are strong enough to take over a weak government. This is not very likely to happen in the major democracies that remain. Here fascism is the logical outcome of participation in war.

Another war will see conscription and regimentation on a colossal scale. The fascist exaltation of the state, with its accompaniment of concentration camps and repression, will be firmly clamped upon us. And when the war is over, liberty will have died.

SEDITION BILL AND CONSCRIPTION PLANS

Those who love democracy should consider this. And as they should be concerned about what kind of government war itself will produce, they should concern themselves too with what the forces of militarism are even now trying to accomplish. The "Incitement to Disaffection" bill, already passed in the Senate and likely to come before the House before the end of this session of Congress, is a fascist measure designed to curtail criticism of militarism and governmental policies.

involving the army and navy—*not in war-time but now!* (See *Social Action*, January 10, page 22.)

They should be concerned too about the "Industrial Mobilization Plan" which will conscript man-power but which is not aimed to conscript industry, whose right to a profit will remain. This plan will mean a minute regimentation of public opinion. Upon our people there will be fastened repressive measures which may for long years prevent liberty from being re-born.

Americans love democracy. *If we want to keep a democratic form of government, if we believe in liberty and freedom, we had better also believe in peace, and work for it.*

Thirdly, Christianity.

The religion of Jesus cannot live in war. For war is the very opposite of everything for which the gospel stands. War lives on hatred, greed, lust. The gospel feeds on love, unselfishness, brotherhood. The making and keeping of peace is a fundamental condition for the growth and flowering of Christianity.

THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIANITY

That is why our churches should realize the stake they have in peace. They are the vehicles for the expression of Jesus' hope for a godlike world. They cannot be such an instrument of God's righteousness so long as they ally Christianity with the false gods of nationalism and militarism. Today we still give a religious sanction to the war system by the institution of the chaplaincy, by our participation in a militaristic observance of Memorial Day, by our refusal altogether to cut ourselves loose from approving any war at all. We in the churches still consent to the slaughter of men. Can Christianity be born, can it survive, in an atmosphere of war?

Nobody should want peace more than Christian people. For all their fair hopes for a Christlike world are at stake.

The Church's Impact On the World

• by Hugh Vernon White

Social *action* to be effective must be specific. Ideas may be vague and general, but *action* is always definite. Any course followed excludes for the time being all other courses. On the other hand, *social* action is action in which various individuals act according to a common pattern of behavior. If social action is to be also *Christian*, both these aspects of the case must be taken into account and made to conform to the nature of Christianity.

THE DANGER OF BEING SPECIFIC

One of the initial difficulties in any program of Christian social action lies in the fact that it must claim for some exclusive and specific procedure the character of being Christian with at least the apparent identification of Christianity with that kind of action and the implied judgment upon all other conduct as un-Christian. Most of our Christian teaching and preaching escapes this responsibility by dealing with general principles and ideals. Whenever it becomes specific, it runs the risk of identifying Christianity with a form of conduct which cannot always stand free criticism and which the passage of time may show to be obviously un-Christian.

Another difficulty of Christian social action has to do with the acceptance by the individual of that common way of behavior which is necessary to social action. In general there are two ways by which people are brought to any common practice: by persuasion and by some form of compulsion. Often if not usually, our group-conduct results from both.

CHURCH AND STATE

The principle by which Christianity acts is one of persuasion and the Church as the Christian institution is an instrument of persuasion. It has never accomplished what it sets out to do

with any man until it has won his will and heart to the Christian ideal. In a radical sense it may be said that no man ever acts as a Christian unless he is acting freely. But this freedom of action needs supplementing when a common pattern is to control social conduct. Not only must that pattern be specific but it must have authority and a certain amount of coercion must be admitted. Here is discovered the need of government or of state.

The ultimate instrument of authority and coercion in human affairs is the state. The state is an agency to make specific laws for social action and to compel individuals to conform to the patterns defined by those laws, refraining from all other forms of conduct that conflict with it. In a sense, this is what the Church is seeking to accomplish, yet by different methods.

The Church cannot, as it has actually done through so much of its history, constitute itself a legislative and governing institution. And yet the practical effectiveness of its ideals is frustrated unless those ideals find increasing embodiment in the common conduct of men which has the sanction of law.

INTERMEDIARY AGENCIES

Perhaps no entirely satisfactory solution of this problem is possible, but it seems to me that the most promising approach to it is found in certain intermediary agencies which are rooted in the idealism of the Church and yet which address themselves to specific solutions of particular issues of social conduct.

Such was the Anti-Saloon League, and such are the peace agencies and many other organizations. Such are the commissions and societies of the various religious denominations. Such even are the foreign and home mission boards. These are agencies which draw their moral and material support from the Church and yet which are not identical with the Church.

Thus a man who does not believe in prohibition does not feel that he is committed to it because a representative of the Anti-Saloon League speaks from the pulpit and secures finan-

cial support in the Church. The man who does not believe in the pacifist position can protest against the support his Church gives to a peace program without feeling constrained to leave the Church. It has always been a minority in the Church who have been personally interested in missions, and there are always people positively opposed to them. But all denominations continue to carry on missionary work, and the people who are not sympathetic to it usually are not aggrieved. They do not feel that they must separate themselves from the Church in order to preserve their own Christian integrity.

THE COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION

It seems to me that, in creating the Council for Social Action, the Congregational and Christian Churches have followed this same method, and have found a way by which the Christian idealism of the Church may form tentative and effective connections with the processes of the state by which laws are made and enforced.

But it must be recognized that the tasks of industrial and economic reconstruction which the present-day idealism of the Church confronts, through the Council, are much more delicate and difficult than those with which other agencies deal. Any effectual change in those areas will affect directly the fortunes of the very people who constitute the Church. If there is economic injustice most of us are either suffering from it or benefitting by it. It is not too much to say that many Church members and many Church organizations are among the beneficiaries of a system that is unjust and that its injustice cannot be overcome without at least for the time being materially diminishing their income and advantages.

Nevertheless, it is highly desirable that the Church shall have an organ through which to work ceaselessly at these issues from the standpoint of humanity and justice. For change is bound to come, and it is the deep concern of the Church that there shall be present among the influences that determine change the largest possible measure of Christian idealism.

A Prayer For The Church

O God, we pray for thy church, which is set today amid the perplexities of a changing order, and face to face with a great new task.

Baptize her afresh with the life-giving spirit of Jesus.

Grant her a new birth, though it be with the travail of repentance and humiliation.

Bestow upon her a more imperious responsiveness to duty, swifter compassion with suffering, and an utter loyalty to the will of God.

Put upon her lips the ancient gospel of her Lord.

Help her to proclaim boldly the coming of the Kingdom of God and the doom of all that resist it.

Fill her with the prophets' scorn of tyranny, and with a Christ-like tenderness for the heavy-laden and down-trodden.

Give her faith to espouse the cause of the people, and in their hands that grope after freedom and light to recognize the bleeding hands of the Christ.

Bid her cease from seeking her own life, lest she lose it.

Make her valiant to give up her life to humanity, that like her crucified Lord she may mount by the path of the cross to a higher glory.

—*Walter Rauschenbusch*

•

"The Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives.

They shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities."

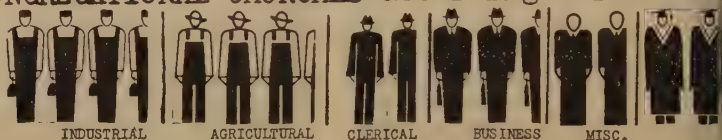
—*Isaiah*

Number in Selected Occupations

IN THE UNITED STATES according to the Census



IN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES according to Plebiscite



Each person equals 6% of gainfully employed



Each person equals 300,000 gainfully employed.

Average Annual Income in 1930

MAXIMUM INCOME if productive capacity were fully used



PERCENT AVERAGE INCOME of all gainfully employed



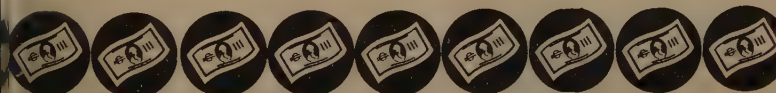
OPERATORS



COLLAR WORKERS



SALE AND RETAIL DEALERS



TEACHERS, LAWYERS, PHYSICIANS, CLERGYMEN

Each coin equals \$200.00.

The Italian People Under Fascism

• by Emily Taft Douglas

Mrs. Douglas, wife of Professor Paul Douglas, economist, of Chicago University, has recently returned from Italy, where she and her husband made extensive studies of fascism. The present threat of fascism in America—evidenced by the denial of civil rights, the repression of free speech, the enactment of laws to require oaths from teachers, the passage of flag salute legislation—makes it imperative that we understand the cost of such a turning from democracy.

The tangible burdens of fascism to the middle class are chiefly economic. Even a superficial visit to Italy will reveal *the high cost of living*.

Perhaps it would be unfair to insist on the prices which the war has produced, although these are the result of a policy which led Italy to be boycotted by fifty nations. Certain commodities, which seem necessities to the middle class of other lands, are excessively high. For instance, coffee has been selling at the equivalent of \$1.50 a pound, tea at \$3.00 and gasoline at \$1.60 a gallon.

HIGH COST OF LIVING

But certainly we can emphasize the cost of articles which have been high for several years. Mussolini's desire to make Italy self-sufficient has encouraged him to raise high tariff barriers. One-sixth of the wheat used in Italy is grown in what the Department of Agriculture calls mountainous lands. The result of this expensive production is that wheat sells at \$2.70 a bushel, or three times the world price. When one calls the spaghetti, macaroni and noodles which bulk so largely in the Italian diet, one realizes the hardship of this policy. Another staple, rice, is also three times the world price. The government's wish that Italians should use only beet sugar has raised the price of sugar to 25c. a pound.

Again *the tax burden* on the middle class is very heavy. The coming of fascism inaugurated a cut in income taxes, to please

Mussolini's backers, the big industrialists. But the tremendous military machine which the country supports is financed by sales taxes, on everything from salt to cigarettes, and countless other kinds of taxes. George Seldes states that by 1932 taxes had doubled under fascism and claimed at that time 30 per cent of the national income.

Another tangible cost of fascism is that of *human life*, for the constant glorification of war is bound to result in such adventures as the Abyssinian war. Although the government is trying to conceal the losses by not publishing casualty lists or allowing the sick or wounded to return home, the human sacrifice is of course the hardest to bear.

LOSS OF LIBERTY

The intangible costs of fascism can be summed up under *the loss of intellectual liberty*. Every intelligent Italian must feel this, for even a private word of criticism of the regime may be punished by five years imprisonment. Free assembly, like free speech, is of course impossible. This applies to all groups. Organizations ranging from the Masonic Orders to the International Association of University Women have been eliminated. The cooperatives were especial targets for violence in the early days of fascism.

Teachers of necessity must be party members. But a few years back when the university professors were compelled to take the oath, some did so with tears streaming down their cheeks.

In Italy there is no chance to gain an impartial view of social or economic matters. After the murder of Matteotti the last vestige of freedom was taken from the press. Minute directions are sent out from day to day to the editors of the land, telling what news should be played up and what suppressed. Even foreign papers, such as the London and New York *Times*, are now excluded from the country. Movies and radios also play their part as propaganda instruments.

Children are the chief recipients of indoctrination. They are allowed none but fascist organizations, whose avowed purpose, as we know, is to make good soldiers. All boys learn to handle a rifle, and the abler ones, machine guns. The Wehrmacht Cub Scouts initiate boys into the fascist cult at the age of six. Recently Mussolini has protested that this was too late. In the future they will start at four years.

The school texts are carefully prescribed. Throughout all of them there is a glorification of fascism and war. A summary of the first three general readers reveals sixteen pages devoted to personal anecdotes about Il Duce, twenty-six to fascism and ninety to some phase of war. Democratic institutions are ridiculed and the Italian race presented as the hero of the world.

To middle class women there have also come penalties under the fascist regime. Their number as teachers is restricted, and they are banned from teaching history or literature "since they are unable to understand or present the national needs." The one desirable function of women is home-making and, above all, the bearing of children. Birth control is therefore a crime. To encourage the procreation of more soldiers, bachelors are taxed and prolific parents are rewarded with prizes.

On the whole, the middle class, which helped Mussolini to power, has little for which to be grateful.



"War is to man what maternity is to woman. From a philosophical and doctrinal viewpoint I do not believe in perpetual peace. Only a sanguinary effort can reveal the great qualities of peoples and the qualities of the human soul."

—Benito Mussolini

Progress on Kenneth Arnold Case

In *Social Action*, April 1, the story of the Kenneth Arnold case was told in considerable detail (pages 21-3). There we recounted the record of the case from the beginning, and described the efforts that had been made to secure a revision of the ruling of the Executive Committee of Massachusetts Institute of Technology in regard to conscientious objection to compulsory military training.

It will be recalled that our last word was in regard to a petition that was signed by a group of prominent Congregational church leaders, laymen and clergy, and sent to the Institute. We take up the story at that point.

CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT COMPTON

On April 15 a committee consisting of Dwight J. Bradley of Union Church, Carl H. Kopf of Mount Vernon Church, Russell Stafford of Old South Church—all of Boston—and Alfred Malz of the Council for Social Action had a conference with President Karl T. Compton. The purpose of this conference was to urge again upon the Institute the offering of an alternative course in peace education for conscientious objectors, and to discover what the attitude of the Institute might be with regard to seeking actively a solution of the problem of conscientious objection.

The conference was satisfactory. It revealed again the genuine and sincere interest of Dr. Compton in a satisfactory solution of the problem, and made it plain that the Institute would work actively upon the matter of revising its present ruling.

The Institute would not, however, under any circumstances make an exception to its present ruling so long as that ruling remained an Institute policy. Therefore Kenneth Arnold will not receive a degree this June. However, if and when the ruling is revised, he may have the opportunity to take such alternative courses as are later offered, receiving a degree retroactively.

Since there is an excellent chance of securing a revision of the present policy of the Institute, it is planned not to press for Arnold's degree this June, but to work quietly with Dr. Compton for the larger end of a change in general policy.

We quote below the last letter from Dr. Compton. We would point out the fact that *if through the leadership of M.I.T. a general policy favoring conscientious objectors can be worked out in all colleges where military training is compulsory, a great step forward for the churches will have been achieved.*

The letter, dated April 28, reads

MY DEAR MR. SCHMALZ:

I beg to acknowledge the fine letter of April 20th by yourself and the Reverend Messrs. Bradley, Kopf and Stafford in respect to the petition to the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology asking for exemption of conscientious objectors from compulsory military training.

The petition and your two covering letters were presented to the Executive Committee at its meeting on April 22nd and were sympathetically received and discussed.

We believe that there would be distinct advantages in handling the situation through group action, either through the agency of the War Department or cooperation among those colleges in which military training is compulsory, and it is the intention of the Executive Committee first to approach the problem in this direction.

I can assure you of our sincere interest in attempting to work out a policy and procedure which will be considerate of the reasonable religious or ethical convictions of those who may wish to study at this institution and which will yet preserve the essential integrity of the national service to which we are sincerely committed.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) KARL T. COMPTON

President

the Struggle for Justice in Tampa

JURY PICKING LAGS IN FLOGGING TRIAL

Six Are Tentatively Seated in
the Box, but the Defense
Has 10 More Challenges.

By JUNIUS B. WOOD

Copyright, 1936, by NANA, Inc.
TAMPA, Fla., March 27.—Possible
membership in labor unions, the
Congregational Church, the Hills-
borough County Unemployment
Brotherhood or any organization
which adopted resolutions of pro-
test after the death of Joseph A.
Shoemaker was touched upon by
defense attorneys today in ques-
tioning prospective jurors in the
former Tampa police-
NEW YORK TIMES,
of Eugene F. ... ing victims on the ...

To our knowledge, this is the first court trial where a prospective juror was questioned as to his Congregational church affiliation. The reason for this is the close connection which Rev. Walter Metcalf has had with the case (see *Social Action* April 1, pages 26-27). The brief account given below may be helpful to those who wish to follow developments in the story, and who are interested to know how the church can be effective in supporting civil rights.

It was at a meeting called to formulate a constitution and laws for the Modern Democrats, a new political party which last fall received almost 10 per cent of the votes cast in the Tampa elections, that Shoemaker, Rogers and Poulnot were kidnapped, driven into the country, beaten and tarred. After a week of torture from the beating and burns, Shoemaker died. Three Orlando Klansmen are accused of the actual lashing. These, with six Tampa policemen, are now on trial for second degree murder.

THE KU KLUX KLAN

Klansmen, it is generally agreed, did the flogging. In whose behalf were they acting? Junius B. Wood, a responsible correspondent writing in *The New York Times* (May 11) reports:

"Flogging, tar and feathering and even death are not unusual here as a means of disposing of persons who are disturbing certain interests, or to what is vaguely called 'social order.'"

Mr. Woods quotes from an unnamed fruit grower:

"Citrus growing is a \$100,000,000 industry in Florida, and as it cannot afford to pay higher wages, labor organizers must be discouraged. It would be undignified for members of the organization to do it and outsiders are used."

This man explained, according to Mr. Wood, that he himself had helped to consign a dozen such "disturbers" to abandoned and water-filled phosphate mines and swamps. Mr. Wood continues:

"Enough has been produced in court and openly talked outside both to involve the citrus growers, the cigar interests, the Ku Klux Klan and the Tampa Police Department. . . . Who actually ordered it to be done has not been brought out at the trial."

As the trial proceeded, the six policemen indicted for kidnapping were identified, as well as the seventh, who is being held as an accessory. The testimony showed police collusion in the beating and flogging; indicated that a city employee acted as a stool pigeon in the Modern Democrat organization; and that the raid on the Modern Democrat meeting November 3 was illegal, because no search warrant was issued.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

The Tampa Ministerial Association has been active in protesting the violation of civil liberties. Walter Metcalf, pastor of the Congregational Church in Tampa, has been courageous and outspoken in his demands for justice. Aroused citizens are urging better civic conditions. How can we strengthen their struggle to achieve genuine democracy? How can we encourage Florida workers in their right to organize to improve their living conditions?

Here are two ways we can help:

1. Urge William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, to stand firm in his intention *to withdraw the A. F. of L. convention*, scheduled for Tampa in the fall, unless justice is done. Address Mr. Green at Washington, D. C.
2. *Support the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa*, 112 East 19th Street, New York City. This Committee, made up of church and labor groups, is carrying on the struggle for civil rights in Tampa and surrounding communities.

A Political Platform On Peace

What stand would you want your political party to take on peace issues?

We quote below the planks on peace which are to be submitted by the National Peace Conference to the Resolutions Committees of the two major political parties. Church groups which have been working on this project (see *Social Action*, April 1, page 30) will be especially interested in these conclusions.

The purpose of government in a democracy is the welfare of the people. The promotion of the welfare of the people requires today the maintenance of peace. War destroys the fundamental liberties upon which democratic government itself rests, and brings in its wake economic disaster to all groups. The maintenance of peace must, therefore, be the first concern of government, and its policies must be in harmony with this end.

Economic Policies, Tariff and Trade

We urge continuation of the program of reciprocal trade agreements as an effective means for achieving the reduction

of tariff barriers and other obstacles to world trade, and I strongly support all efforts on the part of our government to combat the destructive forces of economic nationalism which constitute a threat to the preservation of peace through the world.

We favor cooperation with other nations for the stabilization of currency.

The United States should cooperate with other nations through continued membership in the International Labor Organization and in other ways to raise the standard of living and to assist in solving pressing economic and social problems.

II. National Defense

We strongly condemn the alarming increase in military and naval expenditure, which now exceeds one billion dollars annually, for armed forces which cannot be justified except for use in future overseas wars. The national defense policy of the United States should be shaped on the basis of the defense of our soil, and the army and navy should be limited and organized in accordance with this conception.

The United States should increase its efforts to achieve limitation and reduction of armaments on land, sea and air by international agreement.

We advocate control of the munition industry through both national and international action to prevent rivalry in armaments and to take the profit out of war and the preparation for war.

III. Neutrality Legislation

We favor the extension of existing neutrality legislation to include an embargo on supplementary war material in order that the risk of entanglement in foreign wars may be reduced and in order that the United States may not obstruct the world community in its efforts to maintain peace.

• International Cooperation

We reaffirm our support of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which must be maintained as the fundamental principle of American foreign policy. In the event of a violation or threatened violation of the Pact the United States should consult with the other signatories.

We advocate active and persistent steps by our government to resolve international differences in the Far East by friendly and non-warlike means.

We call upon both political parties to carry out their re-elected pledges supporting American adherence to the World Court. We demand prompt action at the coming session of Congress to uphold the established policy of the United States, to settle international disputes by pacific means.

We support continued cooperation with the League of Nations, in all its social, economic and humanitarian activities and in its efforts to remove the causes of war.



Support the Emergency Peace Campaign

To meet the threat of war, great peace rallies are being held at a number of important centers throughout the country. The first series this spring brings to America the distinguished British labor leader, George Lansbury. Many Congregational clergymen are taking an active part.

These rallies are, in many places, followed up by a two-day session in which peace and war issues are carefully discussed. During the summer, caravans of young people, trained at peace institutes, will tour the countryside.

This present group of meetings is but the beginning of what will probably be the greatest effort so far made in America to strengthen opposition to war. The campaign will continue next fall and winter. It should eventuate in a solid movement for war resistance.

On Memorial Day—Sign People's Mandate

Memorial Day can be made especially significant by securing signatures of churchmen to the "People's Mandate to Governments to End War." It is urged that ministers make the petition available in the vestibule of the church for signing after the morning service. The mandate reads:

We, THE PEOPLE, are determined to end WAR. WAR settles no problems. War brings economic disaster, needless suffering and death to us and our children.

To meet the present threat of complete world chaos, we command that our government, having renounced war in the Kellogg Briand Pact,

STOP immediately all increase of armaments and of armed forces

USE existing machinery for peaceful settlement of present conflicts

SECURE a World Treaty for immediate reduction of arms as a step toward Complete World Disarmament

SECURE international agreements founded on recognition of world interdependence to end the economic anarchy which breeds war.

The purpose of the campaign for the People's Mandate is to express such overwhelming opposition to war that governments will not dare resort to it. 50,000,000 signatures to the Mandate is the goal, 12,000,000 of these to be secured in the United States. The Mandate is now being circulated in 50 countries including such widely scattered ones as Japan, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, and Canada.

The Mandate will be presented to the principal governments of the world, to the League of Nations, and to the World Peace Conference that is certain to be held in the near future.

Copies of the Mandate, in petition form, may be secured from

Committee for the People's Mandate,

Willard Hotel

Washington, D. C.

is Summer Plan to Attend an Institute

The Council calls the attention of churches and individuals to the very useful series of Institutes of International Relations at nine centers. Sponsored and promoted jointly by the Council and the American Friends Service Committee, they offer sound training in the issues of peace and war. The price for tuition, board and lodging ranges from \$11 to \$35 at different institutes.

TO BE A DELEGATE

An excellent social action project is raising funds to send one or more persons to an institute from a local church.

Institutes on International Relations:

Duke University, **Durham**, North Carolina, June 8-19
 Washburn College, **Newton**, Kansas, June 9-19
 Grinnell College, **Grinnell**, Iowa, June 17-26
 Northwestern University, **Evanston**, Illinois, June 22-July 3
 Mills College, **Oakland**, California, June 23-July 3
 Whittier College, **Whittier**, California, June 30-July 10
 Reed College, **Portland**, Oregon, July 6-16
 Swarthmore College, **Swarthmore**, Pennsylvania, June 22-July 3
 Wellesley College, **Wellesley**, Massachusetts, June 23-July 3

the Cooperative Movement:

Amherst, Massachusetts	August 2-8
Grant, Michigan	August 30-September 5
Maple Plains, Minnesota	June 7-21
New York, New York	June 27-August 15
Columbus, Ohio	June 1-13
Mount Union, Pennsylvania	June 28-July 4
Camp Brule, Wisconsin	June 14-July 12

For further information write the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

Race Relations:

Swarthmore College, **Swarthmore**, Pennsylvania—July 5-25
 For further information write the Institute of Race Relations, 100 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Social Action at the General Council

Meeting for State Social Action Committees: Members of Social Action Committees of the State Conferences are invited to meet with the Council for Social Action on the campus. **TUESDAY MORNING, JUNE 16TH, AT 9:30.** At this time plans for effective cooperation will be developed.

Panel Discussion: **FRIDAY EVENING, JUNE 19TH,** there will be a panel discussion on the subject "Changes in the Economic Structure called for by Experience of this Generation." Ten participants have varying points of view. Rev. Alfred W. Swenson of Madison, Wisconsin, one of the directors of the CSA, will take part.

Seminar on the Social Action Program: **SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 20TH,** there will be two addresses on social action after which the whole assembly will divide into smaller groups for discussion.

That afternoon Professor Arthur E. Holt, chairman of the CSA, will present the Council's report.

Series of Luncheons: The following speakers are among those to be heard at five luncheons arranged by the CSA, from **WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17TH TO MONDAY, JUNE 22** (Sunday accepted):

Rufus Jones, prominent Quaker

Raymond Leslie Buell, President of the Foreign Policy Association

E. R. Bowen, General Secretary of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A.

Hubert C. Herring, Director of the CSA

Arrangements are being made to seat 300 persons. Plans to make your reservation as soon as you arrive at South Hack

Recommended For Further Reading

Land of the Free, by Herbert Agar. Houghton, 1935, \$3.50.
Reviews America's economic past, studies the present situation, and looks forward to the restoration of the small property holder.

Urgent America, by Alfred M. Bingham. Harpers, 1935, \$2.50.
Outlines the rise of the middle-class, analyzes the fascist reaction, and proposes a program for America.

Life of the Middle Class, by Lewis Corey. Covici, 1935, \$2.00.
Traces the history of the middle-class and defines it statistically and economically; well documented.

Liberalism and Social Action, by John Dewey. Minton, 1935, \$1.50.
Mr. Dewey argues that the "general creed of liberalism be formulated as a concrete program of action."

History of National Socialism, by Konrad Heiden. Knopf, 1935, \$1.50.

"The most valuable historical document we so far have on German Nazism."—HAROLD LASKI.

Nazi Dictatorship, by F. L. Schumann. Knopf, 1935, \$3.00.
A survey of the rise of Hitler and the growth of Nazism since the close of the World War.

Man, Poor Man, by R. C. and O. P. Goslin. People's League for Economic Security, 1936, 80 pp., 15c. (reprint edition). A primer in economics. First published by Harpers at \$1.00.

Industrial Mobilization Plan (revised 1933), War Policies Commission. Part 2 of Hearings on Public Resolution No. 98, 71st Congress. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

The "Incitement to Disaffection" Bill, by American Civil Liberties Union. December, 1935, 23 pp., 5c. Contains text of proposed bill, reports on the debate, and the argument in opposition to the bill.

Peace in Party Platforms, by William T. Stone. Foreign Policy Association, 1936, 38 pp., 25c. (paper), 35c. (boards). Source material on which to base a platform of peace.

Militarize, by O. G. Villard. Atlantic Monthly, February, 1936, 2 pp., reprint 2c. Reviews Mr. Roosevelt's armament policy which has culminated in the largest war appropriations in our peace-time history.

Economics and Morals

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"Any economic system can be changed if its moral assumptions are clearly understood and are felt to be displeasing—but the displeasure has to be sincere, not merely formal. The economic order does not have an independent existence. Back of economics lies morals. The morals of a society may be high or low, conscious or unconscious; but they cannot be non-existent. And the morals of a society determine what emotions will be allowed free play, what social conditions will be tolerated—they determine, in other words, the limits within which the economic system must move.

"One way of stating our American problem, then, is to ask whether we still have the energy and the hope to try and make our society a 'spiritual organism,' or whether we are content to have it an 'economic machine.' "

—Herbert Agar, *Land of the Free*, p. 155f.